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ABSTRACT

The history of developmental psychology in Canada prior to 1960 is concisely recounted. Discussion begins with an account of the scholarly interests and activities of James Mark Baldwin, who brought modern psychology to Canada, and Frederic Tracy, who objected to child-centered approaches to child rearing. The remainder of the paper focuses on the professional activities and ideas of William Emet Baltz, Canada's first really modern child psychologist, and the work of Mary L. Northway, Donald O. Hebb and Wallace E. Lambert. Baltz's views on learning, emotions, and the child are reported, along with his theory of personality development and, very briefly, his and Mary Ainsworth's research on "security." Subsequently, brief accounts are offered of Northway's development of sociometric techniques and research on friendship patterns, the uses of Hebb's findings in the U.S. and Canada, Lambert's studies of bilingualism and applied research on bilingual education, and developmental psychology in French Canada. In conclusion, it is noted that the pioneers of Canadian developmental psychology came to a common conclusion, namely, that the quality of mental health of individuals in society depends on the quality of the experiences they have had in infancy and early childhood, especially infancy. (RH)

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The History of Developmental Psychology in Canada

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This paper will deal with the "ancient" history of developmental psychology in Canada, i.e., the years before 1960. Our "modern" history began in the 1960s. It was ushered in by the great expansion of our universities, the strengthening of our graduate departments by the acquisition of new, young, and talented researchers who were in tune with the rigorously scientific climate of the times, and the availability of more adequate research funds and facilities. Some may argue that developmental psychology in Canada did not "get off the ground" until the 1960s, but I intend to refute them. The work of our pioneers in this field was, in my view, nothing short of illustrious.

James Mark Baldwin

The story begins with James Mark Baldwin and, now that Baldwin has been declared the creator for American psychology of its "first and most influential theory of psychological development" (Cairns, 1980), I announce this with some pride. Baldwin was appointed to the faculty of the University of Toronto in 1889 as Professor of Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics. He was to bring the new scientific psychology to Canada and was given the means to establish a laboratory of psychology on the Wundtian style, which he claimed was the first anywhere on British soil (Murchison, 1961, p. 3). During the four years that Baldwin remained in Toronto he was already directing his attention to questions about development, gathering data on his own children and generating the theories which he later published (Baldwin 1895 and 1897). We know this through the work of his junior colleague at Toronto, a Canadian named Frederick Tracy (Wright, 1982).

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Tracy, with only his B.A. degree, was appointed instructor in philosophy at Toronto in the same year that Baldwin joined the staff and it was not long before he began to share Baldwin's interests, especially his interest in mental development. As a result, in 1892, on Baldwin's recommendation, Tracy was accepted at Clark University to undertake advanced studies in child psychology with G. Stanley Hall. He proposed for his thesis a study of language development, a topic which he said had been suggested to him by Baldwin (Tracy 1893, p. 90 footnote). The findings of that study were reported one year later in 1893 in Tracy's first book and, unless there were no publication lags in those days, this short span of time suggests that a large part, if not all of the thesis research was done in Toronto. This supposition is also supported by the fact that Tracy's empirical data included some which had been collected by Baldwin.

Although Tracy is now an obscure figure in the history of developmental psychology even in Canada, he did for a time earn international recognition. His first book The Psychology of Childhood (Tracy 1893) was "hailed by a world hungry for knowledge about children" (Myers, 1982, p. 75). It went through at least seven editions and was translated into several languages including German, Russian and Japanese. The focus of the book was on infants and preschool aged children and summarized the then available knowledge and speculation about how children develop making extensive use of baby biographies. The book's organization reflects the way in which philosophers of the time typically sub-divided the subject matter of psychology. It has four main chapters entitled respectively: Sensation, Emotion, Intellect, Volition. The report of his empirical study of language development was included as an addendum.

Having obtained his Ph.D. Tracy returned to the University of Toronto, to the Department of Philosophy where he spent his entire teaching career. He appears not to have done any further empirical research on children, but he continued to write

about them and to express his opinions about how they should be raised and educated. In the 1930's he was vehemently criticizing the new so-called "child-centered" approaches to child rearing which were being advocated at Toronto at that time by Canada's first really modern child psychologist, Professor William Emet Blatz (Wright, 1983, 1984, 1985, and in press).

The First Child Study Centres in Canada

Modern child study began in earnest in Canada in 1925. It was spawned by the mental hygiene movement of Clifford Beers which, by 1918, had spilled over from the United States into Canada and resulted in the establishment of a Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene. This committee was set up under a dynamic man named Clarence Hincks who was a promoter and fund raiser "par excellence" and a real "mover" and "shaker". In the early 1920's Hincks and his committee envisioned their concerns to include the promotion of mental health, as well as the prevention and treatment of mental illness, and set out to achieve their mental health goals by establishing two university based nursery schools which were to function as child study centres, one at McGill in Montreal and the other at Toronto. Funding for both centres was obtained by Hincks, primarily from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation, and both were established in the academic year 1925-1926.

The Nursery School at McGill

The history of the nursery school at McGill is short. The Rockefeller support for it was withdrawn at the end of five years. The causes of this have always been shrouded in mystery at least for me, so when I undertook to uncover them I was overjoyed to discover that the person who had been in charge of psychological research there was still alive, active and alert. This was Katharine M. Banham (Banham, 1983, Wright, 1983) then Katharine Banham-Bridges. Now, in her 88th year, she is at Duke University, where she has an office and uses it regularly.

Banham is best known for her pioneering studies of the emotions of infants, which she did in the early 1930s after her assignment in the nursery school ended. This work was done in Montreal and earned for her in 1934, a Ph.D. from the University of Montreal. It was regularly described, along with the work of Watson and Sherman, in every child psychology textbook up until the mid 1950s.

The difficulty at McGill seems to have been that no department of the university showed any real interest in the nursery school or endeavoured to use it for research purposes. The Rockefeller money was invested in the Faculty of Medicine in which a Department of Abnormal Psychology had been established the previous year (1924) also with Rockefeller funds (Ferguson, 1982). A paediatrician was appointed as Director of the school and Banham as the psychologist. She had recently arrived in Montreal to marry J. W. Bridges who was "the" one and only professor in the Department of Abnormal Psychology. In the same year that the Department of Abnormal Psychology had come into existence McGill had established its first Department of Psychology (separate from philosophy) in the Faculty of Arts and Science and this department appears to have resented the fact that such large sums of Rockefeller money for psychological research had been invested in the Faculty of Medicine (Ferguson 1982). As a result this department completely ignored the nursery school and this was most unfortunate because in the late 1920's it had some very bright graduate students including, Kenneth Spence and Donald Hebb.

Banham's interest in the emotional development of infants grew out of her work in the nursery school. She was, of course, charged with the responsibility of throwing light on the development of mental health. As she studied preschool aged children and prepared a book on their social and emotional development (Banham-Bridges, 1931) she became convinced that mental health problems had their origin in infancy and in 1930 she proposed a genetic theory of the emotions (Banham-Bridges, 1930). To test it, she studied 62 infants from two weeks to two

years and concluded that their initial emotional reactions were undifferentiated and could be described as general excitement. She then attempted to determine when differentiated emotional response patterns emerged and to describe them. The interpretations of her findings in this latter area were highly controversial and I will not discuss them, but, as I have already said her work was considered very important for a very long time. This was not only because her findings concerning the first emotional responses of infants challenged those of J. B. Watson and were more consistent with those of Sherman, but also because of the methodology she employed. Making objective scientific observations of infants was still, in her day, a novelty (Banham-Bridges, 1932, 1933, 1934).

The Nursery School at the University of Toronto

Unlike the nursery school at McGill, the one at Toronto began under highly auspicious conditions and was a huge success. It was destined to become in 1938 the Institute of Child Study, the first of its kind in Canada and one of the earliest on the North American continent.

The success at Toronto was due primarily to the talents, drive and style of the young man who was made its Director, W. E. (Bill) Blatz (Wright, 1983, 1984, 1985). When the Rockefeller's emisaries first met Blatz they concluded he was a brash young upstart and questioned his appointment (Northway, 1973) and to some extent they were right. However, the Toronto people were sure he was the man for the job and, in the end, their judgment proved to be correct. In his time, Blatz became not only one of the most controversial but one of the most influential persons in Canadian life. The second factor that insured the success of the Centre at Toronto was that it was started under the general supervision of the Department of Psychology (Toronto's one and only Psychology Department) and received from it whole-hearted support. E. A. Bott, the Department's Head, helped with everything, even the design and equiping of

the playground, and his wife, Helen Bott, who became the supervisor of the Centre's Parent Education Division, co-authored, with Blatz, his first two books (Blatz & Bott, 1929, 1930).

Blatz spent the fall of 1925 planning the organization of the centre and selecting staff and after Christmas the nursery school was opened (Northway, 1951). From its start the Centre had two divisions: a Nursery School Division and a Parent Education Division. The aims of both were to do research on child development and family relations and to provide instruction. Parents whose children were enrolled in the nursery school were required to attend parent education classes. The students trained at the Centre were graduate students in psychology most at the MA, but some at the Ph.D. level. One of the most noteworthy of the latter was Mary D. Salter, now Mary Ainsworth, a person who has become so eminent in our field that she was, yesterday, honoured with an Award by this society and she will be known to you all. She did her Ph.D. thesis under Blatz, starting to work with him in 1937 on the task of testing his "Security" theory, i.e. his theory of personality development (Salter, 1940, Ainsworth & Ainsworth, 1958, Ainsworth, 1983).

In the 1920s the research undertaken immediately by Blatz was extensive. It included two major longitudinal projects; one to study the children accepted for the nursery school from the pre-natal period to young adulthood, the other to study school aged children (the Regal Road Project). In the nursery school, in an effort to obtain normative data, copious and continuous records were taken of all aspects of the children's behavior; their social interactions, emotional episodes, sleeping, eating and toileting behavior and their reactions to management strategies aimed at promoting self control and self management.

Blatz was also developing his own theories about learning and personality development and working out their implications for child rearing practices. For example, he trained the teachers for the nursery school by working with them in the development of the program and of strategies for managing the children and for

stimulating their development. And he wasted no time getting the ideas he and his colleagues were generating on paper. In the first five years two books, primarily for parents, were published Parents and the Preschool Child in 1929 and The Management of Young Children in 1930; an inhouse journal called the Parent Education Bulletin was started, and by 1933 the University of Toronto Press had created a Child Development Monograph series to help handle the Centre's scientific outpourings. In 1935, a book on how to run a nursery school was also produced entitled Nursery Education: Theory and Practice (Blatz, Millichamp, & Fletcher, 1935). This was written in collaboration with Dorothy Millichamp, who supervised student training and Margaret Fletcher who ran the preschool. Then in 1936 Blatz had a unique opportunity to do the research which would so impress the University of Toronto that Blatz's nursery school would be turned into the Institute of Child Study. This was the work with the Dionne Quintuplets.

The "Quints" were born in 1934 and, as Pierre Berton put it, "To Blatz the quintuplets landing virtually on his doorstep must have seemed sent from heaven especially for his benefit. No social scientist had ever been faced with such a unique and intriguing challenge---here he had children who sprang from a totally different background (from those studied in Toronto--French Canadian from rural Ontario) and not only that there were five of them, all alike. Moreover they were confined in a controlled environment, twenty-four hours a day, away from their parents." (Berton, 1977, p.118).

For about two years, from when the Quints were eighteen months until they were nearly four years old, Blatz had the opportunity to plan and direct their daily activities and to study their development. Researchers in other departments of the university also studied them, notably ones interested in genetics. In 1937 a collection of their studies (Blatz et al., 1937) was published and a conference was held to discuss them. During this period Blatz was a lively participant in the whole

North American Child Study Movement. He and his colleagues had hosted the annual NRC-sponsored conference on child study in 1929 (the site according to Dorothy Eichorn chosen in part to escape the restrictions imposed in the U.S.A. by the temperance act) and the conference on the Quints was well attended. Blatz made sure it would be an interesting one. He even chartered a train to take the participants to Callander so they could actually observe the five little sisters. In 1938 Blatz put the whole story together in a new book entitled The Five Sisters: A Study of Child Psychology (Blatz, 1938).

The University was greatly impressed by the interdisciplinary efforts which had been made in the research with the Quints and decided such efforts should be facilitated. This appears to have been the critical factor in the decision to create the Institute, which would be an independent unit in the university, not tied to any one department. Hence the dream that Blatz had had for a very long time finally came true. The Institute of Child study became a reality in 1938.

Blatz: The Man and His Ideas

Blatz was exceedingly bright and well trained. He obtained his Ph.D. in psychology in 1924 from Chicago where he studied with Harvey carr, but before that he acquired both an M.A. in physiology and a degree in medicine from Toronto. His doctoral research was experimental. It was a study of the cardiac, respiratory and electrical phenomena involved in the emotion of fear (Blatz, 1925).

Blatz was a functionalist and although he would not have used the term he was a cognitive developmentalist. He was opposed to behaviorism and never abandoned the conviction that consciousness, although difficult to study was the primary subject matter of psychology (Blatz, 1966). He was biologically oriented in the sense that he viewed learning in terms of adaptation and allocated to consciousness the most fundamental role in the adaptation process. The essence of consciousness was for Blatz selection: the making of choices between behavioral options and the making of

predictions about the possible outcomes of those choices. Selection was set in motion by motivation and motivation was, he insisted, always conscious. Learning, he said, begins with a challenge. It occurs when motivated individuals are goal-seeking but feel inadequate because they have no readily available responses for achieving their goals. Emotion plays a fundamental role in this process. Depending upon the degree of inadequacy felt, affective responses alert, focus attention and produce the energy needed to put forth the effort required to deal with the challenge. He thus emphasized the facilitating function of emotion as opposed to its disruptive potential. Blatz accounted for specific emotions in cognitive terms. He said they were a function of the child's appraisal of a situation. If the "emoting" child judged a challenge to be masterable the response was approach-attack (e.g., anger) if judged not masterable the response was withdrawal-flight (e.g., fear). Hence as children acquired knowledge and skill their appraisals of specific situations changed as did their behavioral and emotional responses to them.

Thus, Blatz viewed the child as "active" in his dealings with the environment. "Learning can never be mechanical" said Blatz because of "the active conscious participation of the individual" (Blatz, 1944, p. 46-47) and this led him to strenuously attack formal education. He pointed out that a teacher who understood a child's motivation might create for that child a learning situation, but she could not make the child learn. It was the child Blatz insisted, who must initiate the action. His schools, at both the preschool and primary grade levels were, therefore, organized around the interests of the children, or play-oriented. The activities in which the children engaged were self-selected. Blatz assumed children to be intrinsically motivated to be active and exploratory and postulated a need for change. "The appetite of change '<u>demands</u>' satisfaction in the form of new perceptual or ideational imaginative content of consciousness" (Blatz, 1944, p. 100). Man, Blatz said strives to <u>induce</u> as well as to reduce tension. Blatz's overall

educational goal was to create conditions in which children would "learn how to learn": be curious and exploratory, reflective, planful and purposeful, resourceful and creative. The teachers' role was therefore, to set the stage for children to become involved in challenging growth-inducing activities, but otherwise to maintain a relatively low profile. They even wore a sort of uniform (blue smocks) so that they would more effectively fade into the background.

Blatz's theory of personality development caused him to speak out against authoritarianism and to offer alternative ways of guiding the development of children. He was, as you will recall, charged with the task of finding out how mental health is attained. He postulated "security" as the primary goal of human beings, and conceived this to be not "safety" (which he pointed out, was a static state, subject to crisis and hence an insecure state) but a dynamic state, which grew out of trust in one's ability to deal with the future. He defined it as a state of mind, characterized by serenity, which accompanies a willingness to make decisions and accept the consequences of those decisions. He believed that to achieve security children in infancy and early childhood, must, because of their immaturity, be "dependently secure" i.e., have dependable, consistent, trustworthy parents who provide a secure base and who are, as a result of their consistency, somewhat boring. This, he said gave children the <u>courage</u> and also the <u>desire</u> to reach out, accept the insecurity of the unknown, explore, learn and through this learning gradually develop trust in themselves or develop <u>"independent security"</u>. Blatz's plan of discipline was aimed at putting the locus of control squarely within the child and, initially, he emphasized "independent security" as the ideal even though, because of man's essential dependency on others to meet needs and support efforts it could not be fully attained. Blatz dealt at length with the nature of "<u>mature</u> dependent security" describing it as mutually satisfying, reciprocal, interdependent relations between

adults in which decision making and responsibility were shared (Northway, 1959). However, finally, research on the theory suggested the missing link. In young adults a positive relationship was found between independent security and mature dependent security (Ainsworth & Ainsworth, 1958) suggesting that they had a common base, probably in infancy and early childhood in the quality of the immature dependent security experienced. In the last fomulation of the theory, therefore, dependence was considered to be not "cast of" and replaced by independence, but to be changed in form as the child developed (Northway, 1959).

However, the emphasis in Blatz's teaching continued to be on the importance of giving children as much freedom as possible to make their own decisions, to experience the consequences of those decisions, both successes and failures, and acquire effective ways of coping with them. Learning how to deal with mistakes was for Blatz of paramount importance and he anticipated attribution theory. He detailed the dangers of using extrinsic rewards and punishments of all kinds, including praise and blame and examination marks, and he spoke out strenuously against competition. Blatz also studiously avoided any reference to "love" in his talks to parents. The word is too ambiguous he said and may lead to "smother" love. So he tried to tell parents what children need and how to give it to them. In doing so he emphasized, as I have said, consistency and did so to such an extent that on one occasion there appeared in Saturday Night a hilarious parody, dedicated to Dr. Blatz entitled "I can't give you anything but consistency, baby" (Ross, 1947).

So, as you can see, Blatz was, as a colleague aptly put it, "a general all-round disturber of the intellectual peace". He condemned all of the traditional "sacred cows" about education and child rearing and had impressive reasons for doing so. His style was also provocative. He applied his learning theory in his approach to both his students and the public. He deliberately shocked and challenged, created ambiguity and insecurity, to alert and arouse his audience. Sometimes he aroused them too much. To say that he was a controversial figure is an understatement, yet

he impressed the intelligentia of Toronto and many of the most influential and as a result he did bring about profound changes in what happened to children.

It was, as I have said, in the latter part of the 1930s that Blatz started serious research on his concept of "security" and the first statements about the theory were published in 1940 (Blatz, 1940, Salter, 1940). This work was, however, interrupted by the war, which took Blatz to England first in 1941 as a consultant to the British Government on child care in wartime and then in 1942 to establish in Birmingham the Garrison Lane Nursery Training School. This school, which included a demonstration day nursery, trained child care reservists for work in wartime day nurseries. It operated for over two years and inspired Blatz to write a new book which was entitled Understanding the Young Child (Blatz, 1944). This contained a full chapter on the security theory. During the war back in Ontario, there were also wartime demands on the Institute for direction in the establishment of wartime day nurseries and the training of their staff and, after the war when the province of Ontario decided to continue its support for day nurseries and regulate them by licensing, it called on the Institute to establish standards for them. As a result in 1946 a Day Nurseries Act for the province was drafted which was one of the first of its kind in North America and which set standards for the education of the children which have to my knowledge not yet been excelled.

During the post war period, in the late 1940's, the Ontario government also launched, on a massive scale, a parent education program. The supervisor of the Institute's Parent Education Division was seconded to the Government to run it. People all over the province were trained as study group leaders. The "bibles" used were a series of parent education booklets published by the Institute. Dr. Blatz was certainly the Benjamin Spock, of Canada, in his time.

As time went on the pressures on the Institute for training and service continued to increase but research was not neglected. Work on the security theory was resumed on a large scale after the war when Mary Ainsworth returned to Toronto and became the Co-director with Blatz of the security research project. Much of the effort was directed toward the development of instruments to measure security (or mental health) at various age levels. Ainsworth and her husband developed scales for use with young adults (Ainsworth & Ainsworth, 1958), and others developed techniques for assessing school-aged children (Grapko, 1957) and infants (Flint, 1959). The results of their work led to the final formulation of the theory, which I have already described (Northway, 1959). Blatz's last book, entitled Human Security, Some Reflections (Blatz 1966) sums it all up. This book was written in the early 1960s, the latter part with great difficulty just before he died in 1964. It was published posthumously in 1966.

Before terminating my remarks about the Institute I want to talk about Mary L. Northway. Northway is best known for her many contributions in the field of sociometry. She developed an interest in peer relations as an ardent camper and began using sociometric techniques to study them before she ever joined the Institute's staff (Northway, 1946). Later however her methods were included in the Institute's longitudinal studies and became an integral part of the security research. Her contributions to sociometry included two books on how to obtain, deal with statistically and use for applied purposes, sociometric data. The first of these A Primer of Sociometry (Northway, 1952) was so well received a second edition was required. The relevance of her work to "security" had to do with the question of how "mature dependent security" (i.e., mutually satisfying interdependent relationships between adults in which responsibility is shared) was developed. She therefore studied, for example, friendship patterns at various age levels (Northway & Detweiler, 1955) and developed innovative fictitious sociometric situations such as

her "Birthday Test" to measure changes with age in the choice of adults or peers in situations which varied in the amount of help the child would need (Northway, 1971, p. 28-31).

Turning Now Away From Toronto and Back to McGill in the Late 1940's and 1950's

No history of the early contributions of Canadian psychology to an understanding of child development would be complete without reference to Donald O. Hebb. Although Hebb would not, I think, consider himself a developmental psychologist his work certainly has had a profound impact on thinking in the developmental area. He "makes it" into this story because it was in the late 1940s and the 1950s that he and his students studied the effects of early experience in restricted and enriched environments on the subsequent intellectual and social development of animals, especially rats and puppies (Hebb, 1947 and 1949; Thompson & Heron, 1954; Melzack & Thompson, 1956; Cooper & Zubek, 1958). I am sure you are all familiar with this work and know that its findings constituted an important part of the ammunition used by J. McV. Hunt (1961) and others to sell the Federal Government in the U.S.A. on Head Start. It was also used in Canada to promote greater efforts in the field of compensatory education (Mogenson, 1972).

Another person at McGill who was launching a research program of much significance to developmental psychologists was Wallace E. Lambert. He joined the Faculty at McGill in 1954 and immediately seized the opportunities that existed in Quebec for studying bilingualism (Lambert, 1955, 1956; Gardner & Lambert, 1959). This work was to culminate in the late 1960's in some extremely interesting applied research on bilingual education which has had a profound affect on the attitudes of Canadian parents toward putting their children in French immersion programs. Today, the demand for such programs for at least anglophone children has exceeded all expectations.

Finally, a word should be said about developmental psychology in French Canada during those early years.

In Quebec the traditional focus was and to a large extent still is on two things: (a) testing in the French-Canadian culture; the translation and restandardization of existing tests or the development of new ones and (b) the treatment of emotionally disturbed children (Granger, 1982). The most significant person in the treatment field was Father Noël Mailloux. He was for some years the Head of the Faculty of Psychology at the University of Montreal, but found time to direct a residential facility for emotionally disturbed youngsters. I visited it many years ago and if my memory serves me correctly the treatment offered was on the Bruno Bettleheim style.

In conclusion, I am aware that in this paper I have devoted more space to Blatz than to anyone else. For this I do not apologize. He occupied center stage in the field in Canada for over 30 years, much much longer than anyone else. He also had a tremendous influence and still does on what goes on in Canadian homes and educational institutions in this country and his contributions to knowledge, when viewed in the context of his time, were highly significant. We are fortunate that he was as insightful as he was and that he anticipated so much of what is now acceptable theory and practice in the field. Education has been able to build on his early teachings. It has not been forced to abandon them.

And one last thought: The pioneers of whom I have spoken came to a common conclusion, namely that the quality of our mental health depends on the quality of the experiences we have in infancy and early childhood, especially infancy. They would be gratified by what the program for this year's SRCD meetings shows so clearly, i.e., that, at long last, infancy is at the focus of our research attention and also that, once again, we are not afraid to use that "fuzzy" concept of mental health.

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